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SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO. 1

COUNTRY Yugoslavia

SUBJECT Anti-Soviet Directives Issued to Tito Cells;
Boris Kraljich Plans on Yugoslav-Soviet
Relations 25X1C

PLACE 25X1A6a

ACQUIRED

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This document is hereby regraded to
CONFIDENTIAL in accordance with the
of 16 October 1978 from the
Director of Central Intelligence to the
Archivist of the United States.

1. The Yugoslav Communist cells recently received new directives presenting the Yugoslav Communist stand against the Soviet Union and its satellites. The directives point out, that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was carried out under entirely different circumstances than now exist. In 30 years the Communist regime in the Soviet Union has achieved many successes accompanied, however, by many mistakes. From these mistakes, which greatly retarded the development of Communist ideas throughout the world, the Yugoslav Communist Party has learned much, and wishes to avoid making similar errors. Tito's concept of Socialism is more modern and has already achieved great successes, which have been envied by the People's Democracies in Moscow and the satellite countries.
2. The directives state that Tito's Yugoslavia will go its own way. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have done everything to repair the break with the Cominform. It is obvious now, however, that a reconciliation cannot be effected. Today, the directive continues, we are so far apart that we must consider the activities of the Cominform as being the work of an antagonist against the Yugoslav people. From our hearts we will wipe out the image of Stalin, the symbol of unity with the Soviet, because no one can demand from us that we idolize our enemies. When new leaders will take over the helm of the Soviet Union they will confirm that our decision and path was right, and at that time it will again be possible to renew the unity of all the Communist Parties in the world. Meanwhile, our spirits shall continue to be apart. We have many friends in all the Peoples' Republics, friends, who are striving towards the same ends.
3. The differences which separate us from the Cominform must be displayed to our people in a circumspect and tactful manner. There must be positive criticism of the steps taken against Tito's Yugoslavia. It is necessary to reveal to the people that we did not willingly estrange ourselves from the Soviet Union, which continues to be our symbol. However, we cannot be subject to a clique which fancies itself the sole guide of the world's Communist Parties. In keeping with our new course, it is necessary to proceed with the removal of Stalin's photo. In speeches, omit applause for the Soviet Union and Stalin. A little later it will be advantageous to enlighten our own efforts by positive analysis of the worthwhile features of the other Peoples' Democracies. This entire process should be carried

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out discreetly and without force. Serious criticism should not be aired before large public forums or gatherings.

4. The directives advise that serious attention should be devoted to the speeches of the prominent party leaders. They should be studied and discussed in detail. The Congress of the Communist Party in Serbia in Belgrade is the starting point of all our future work on this basis. Tito's speech at the Congress will be the plan for all our future policies.
5. In a discussion of these new directives at the end of January, Boris Kraigher, in a meeting with the top activists, set forth a new theory for the break between the Soviet Union and Tito's Yugoslavia. Among other things he said:

"One of the main reasons that the Cominform launched the wave of most disgusting criticism against Tito's Yugoslavia is, without a doubt, our Five Year Plan. The experience of the last three years plainly shows that our country will succeed only if it is completely independent economically. That is to say, if we establish our own 'economic autonomy'. During the last three years we found that, in order to conform to existing trade agreements, we had to export our raw materials to the East at ridiculously low prices. At the same time, we had to pay high prices for the products imported from the East. This unnatural situation would necessarily bring us to a complete economic and political dependence on the East. In the past, our foreign policy was, in many instances, in keeping with the policy of the East. However, situations arose in which this 'directed Eastern policy' worked plainly against the interests of our country.

"The aim of our Five Year Plan, thereby, becomes very clear - 'economic autonomy'. Yugoslavia, by establishing its Five Year Plan, has placed itself in such a position that its future economic structure must be of the agrarian-industrial form. The industrial sector visualizes the production of all industrial needs from the smallest precision instrument up to luxurious personal automobiles. This includes water and steam turbines, generators, radio apparatus, accessories for airplane motors, optical instruments, armaments, materials for construction of merchant and war ships. In short, everything which we would otherwise have to import from abroad. At the same time we have not overlooked communications, transportation media and all aids which will raise the standard of our people in the future to the level of our civilization.

"This Five Year Plan has destroyed all calculations of the East, which had hoped to take our basic necessities of life and raw materials, and in turn sell us their products at high prices. Our plan has been criticized by Soviet specialists. That is to be expected. If we would change it and accept their suggestions, we, undoubtedly, would not have experienced the break with the Cominform. Now you understand how little connection this break has with the Marxist doctrine! The East hopes that our Five Year Plan will fail at any cost, because in that case, according to their calculations, we would again be obliged to serve them. The Cominformists will make every effort to sabotage our plan, but we will oppose these attempts with the same means, or even with more severe measures. You must be on guard in every step, and do all to crush such attempts at their very inception. Today, our greatest enemy is the Cominformists, because, for one thing, we cannot always detect them. However, we have already liquidated many of them, and those that remain will eventually meet the same fate."

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